

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02

SS-15 ICA-11 AID-05 IO-13 /105 W

-----092712 070900Z /12

P R 070630Z JUN 78

FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8417

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL PESHAWAR

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY ROME

CINCPAC

CINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 4602

CINCPAC: FOR POLAD

CINCPAC: FOR CINCEUR

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PINT, PINS, PINR, PEPR, AF, PK, US

SUBJECT: AFGHAN OPPOSITION COALITION REPORTEDLY FORMED

IN PAKISTAN

REF: STATE 141033 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. THE REPORTED INFORMATION OF AN OPPOSITION COALITION

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OF AFGHAN EXILE GROUPS IN PAKISTAN HAS STIRRED HOPE WITHIN  
THE HEARTS OF SOME ANTI-REGIME AFGHANS, ALTHOUGH, IN OUR VIEW,  
REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL CHAIRMAN NOOR MOHAMMAD TARAKI'S REGIME  
FACES NO UNMANAGEABLE THREAT AT THE MOMENT. IF PAKISTAN OR IRAN  
ARE EVENTUALLY PERCEIVED BY THE NEW REGIME AS BASES FOR HOSTILE  
GUERRILLA OPERATIONS, HOWEVER, RELATIONS BETWEEN KABUL AND ITS  
NEIGHBORS COULD BECOME SEVERELY STRAINED. WE COULD ALSO BECOME

INVOLVED IF GUERRILLAS WERE FOUND TO HAVE "AMERICAN-MADE" ARMS. WE WOULD WELCOME EMBASSY ISLAMABAD'S COMMENTS ABOUT THE ALLEGED COALITION. END SUMMARY.

2. ON THE EVENING OF JUNE 1, THE LOCALLY INFLUENTIAL PERSIAN-LANGUAGE SERVICE OF THE BBC CARRIED A REPORT FROM ITS CORRESPONDENT AT RAWALPINDI THAT EIGHT AFGHAN RIGHTIST ORGANIZATIONS IN EXILE IN PAKISTAN HAD JOINED TO FORM A "NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFGHANISTAN" (NFLA). THIS IS PRESUMABLY THE SAME ORGANIZATION REUTERS (PARAGRAPH 2 OF REFTEL) HAS CALLED THE "JUBNAT-I-MILLI" ("NATIONAL REFUGEE FRONT"). THE STATED AIM OF THE NFLA IS REPORTEDLY "THE REDEMPTION OF DEMOCRACY AND ISLAM" IN AFGHANISTAN. ACCORDING TO THE BBC REPORT, THE COALITION IS HEADED BY A "DR. BURHANNUDDIN," WHO IS DESCRIBED AS A MEMBER OF THE ISLAMIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN, WHICH WAS DESCRIBED IN KABUL AIRGRAM A-11 OF FEBRUARY 13, 1978. HE MAY BE SHAIKH BURHAN-UD-DIN RABBANI, AN AFGHAN EXILE KNOWN TO RESIDE IN THE PESHAWAR AREA. WE HAVE HEARD THAT HE MIGHT BE FROM PAKTIA PROVINCE, IN THE AFGHAN-PAKISTAN FRONTIER REGION.

3. OTHER PARTIES SAID TO HAVE JOINED IN THIS COALITION INCLUDE: THE "HEZB-I-MILLET-I-AFGHAN" ("PARTY OF THE AFGHAN NATION"), THE NATIONAL UNITY PARTY, THE HEZB-I-TULU" ("ARISE PARTY"), AND THE HEZB-I-NEJAT-I-KHALQ" ("PEOPLE'S DELIVERANCE PARTY"). THE OTHER PARTIES WERE NOT IDENTIFIED BY BBC.

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4. ACCORDING TO PAKISTAN'S AMBASSADOR ALI ARSHAD AND HIS DCM, TANVIR AHMAD KHAN, THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NFLA CAUGHT ISLAMABAD BY SURPRISE. NEITHER THE FRONT NOR DR. BURHANUDDIN WERE KNOWN TO THE PAKISTANI AUTHORITIES. AS OF JUNE 6, THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT HAD NOT RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE FRONT WITH THE PAKISTANI EMBASSY HERE.

5. ONLY SCANT INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE TO US CONCERNING MOST OF THESE PARTIES. THE ISLAMIC PARTY, HOWEVER, IS A WELL-KNOWN, RADICALLY CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZATION, WHOSE CHARTER WAS ANALYZED BY US IN KABUL A-11. THE NATIONAL UNITY PARTY, FORMED IN 1969, WAS A REASONABLY CENTRIST, PROGRESSIVE PARTY WHICH, ALONG WITH ALL OTHER SUCH ORGANIZATIONS, WAS ABOLISHED AT THE TIME OF THE DAOUDIST COUP IN 1973. THE MELLAT-I-AFGHAN WAS REPORTEDLY AN EXTREMELY NATIONALISTIC PARTY WHICH OPERATED UNDER THE PRE-1973 MONARCHY, WHEN PARTIES WERE TOLERATED, ALTHOUGH NOT OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED. NO INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME ON THE OTHER PARTIES CITED IN THE BBC REPORT. WE PRESUME THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS ARE LINKED -- PERHAPS THROUGH OVERLAPPING MEMBERSHIP -- WITH THE RIGHTIST "IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMIN" ("MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD").

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6. COMMENT: SINCE THE ANNOUNCEMENT, SEVERAL LOCAL AFGHANS WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED HAVE CLAIMED ENTHUSIASTICALLY THAT THE ALLEGED ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS COALITION REPRESENTS THE BEGINNING OF A "COUNTER-REVOLUTION" WHICH WILL SWEEP THE LEFTIST NON-BELIEVERS OUT OF POWER, IN OUR VIEW, HOWEVER, THESE HOPES ARE MADE UP MOSTLY OF WISHFUL-THINKING, AND PROBABLY REFLECT LITTLE AWARENESS OF THE CONSEQUENCES WHICH MIGHT FOLLOW A SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO THIS MOSCOW-SUPPORTED REGIME, OR THE COMING

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TO POWER OF AN AFGHAN RIGHTIST PARTY. NEVERTHELESS, CONFIRMED REPORTS INDICATE THAT THE REGIME CONTINUES TO ENCOUNTER ACTIVE ARMED RESISTANCE IN THE MOUNTAINOUS PUSHTUN TRIBAL AREAS OF EASTERN AFGHANISTAN. AT THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, WE DISCERN NO SERIOUS MILITARY THREAT THAT THE MONTH-OLD DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN (DRA) CANNOT HANDLE -- ESPECIALLY NOW THAT THEY PRESUMABLY CAN DEPEND UPON THE ASSISTANCE OF THEIR GREAT AND FRIENDLY NORTHERN NEIGHBOR.

7. THIS BBC REPORT WELL ILLUSTRATES THE TYPE OF "REACTIONARY PROPAGANDA" WHICH IS HELPING TO KEEP THE BRITISH IN THE DOGHOUSE HERE. IN ADDITION TO HAVING THEIR GOVERNMENT PROTRAYED DAILY BY THE AFGHAN MEDIA AS THE IMPERIALIST MANIPULATORS BEHIND THE NADERI CLIQUE'S DESTRUCTION OF THE PROGRESSIVE "AMANI REVOLUTION" IN 1928 AND 1929, BRITISH EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE BEEN CALLED ON THE CARPET BY THE NEW REGIME WHICH FINDS ESPECIALLY OFFENSIVE THE TART COMMENTARIES ON AFGHAN DEVELOPMENTS BY BBC'S VERY INFLUENTIAL PERSIAN-LANGUAGE SERVICE. THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH TOTALLY CONTROLS ALL MEDIA IN THIS COUNTRY -- AND VERY TIGHTLY INDEED, FINDS INCOMPREHENSIBLE THE BRITISH DIPLOMATS' EXPLANATION THAT, ALTHOUGH THE BBC IS INDEED A GOVERNMENT-OWNED SENDER, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS NO INFLUENCE OVER ITS EDITORIAL POLICIES.

8. IF THERE IS INDEED A NFLA TRYING TO COMMENCE OPERATIONS IN PAKISTAN, WE TURST THAT THE PAKISTANI GOVERNMENT WILL WEIGHT CAREFULLY THE POSSIBLE EFFECTS ON ITS ALREADY SHAKY BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH KABUL. EVEN BEFORE THE REVOLUTION, FORMER PRESIDENT MOHAMMAD DAUD COMPLAINED TO GENERAL ZIA ABOUT PAKISTANI-BASED TROUBLEMAKERS WHO WERE CREATING SECURITY PROBLEMS WITHIN AFGHANISTAN -- AND THE PRESENT REGIME HAS ECHOED THESE SAME CONCERNS IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH PAKISTANI DIPLOMATS. THE COMPLAINTS OF BOTH AFGHAN REGIMES HAVE BEEN

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DIRECTED AGAINST THE SAME TYPES OF RIGHTIST "PARTIES" WHICH APPEAR TO MAKE UP THE REPORTED NFLA.

9. SHOULD AN NFLA-TYPE ORGANIZATION EVER OPEN OFFENSIVE GUERRILLA OPERATIONS WITHIN AFGHANISTAN AND THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT FINDS THAT THEY HAVE BEEN ARMED WITH "AMERICAN-MADE WEAPONS -- WHICH ARE PRESUMABLY READILY AVAILABLE IN PAKISTAN, WE COULD WELL END UP IN A FAR STICKIER POSITION THAN THE BRITISH HERE.

10. WHATEVER HIS MOTIVES OR ABILITIES, DR. BURHANUDDIN WOULD NOT APPEAR TO HAVE THE POLITICAL PRESENCE AND LEGITIMACY TO CLAIM THE ALLEGIANCE OF AFGHANS OPPOSED TO THE NEW REGIME. (AS OF A MATTER OF FACT, THE CURRENT AFGHAN LEADERS ALSO LACK THE TRADITIONAL CREDENTIALS OF LEGITIMACY; LIKE THE BACHA SAQAO IN 1929, THEY SEIZED POWER ONLY THROUGH FORCE AND ARE NOW

ENERGETICALLY TRYING TO CREATED THEIR OWN LEGITIMACY. INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, ONE OF THEIR PLOYS HAS BEEN TO PORTRAY THEMSELVES AS THE IDEOLOGICAL HEIRS OF THE PROGRESSIVE KING AMANULLAH, WHO WAS DEPOSED IN 1929.) SEVERAL OBSERVERS HERE ARE FAR MORE INTERESTED IN THE WHEREABOUTS AND ACTIVITIES OF PRINCE ABDUL WALI, FIRST COUSIN AND SON-IN-LAW OF DEPOSED KING ZAHIR, AND A TOUGH AND CREDIBLE MOHAMMADZAI CONTENDER FOR AFGHAN LEADERSHIP IN HIS OWN RIGHT. WERE THERE EVER TO BE A LARGE-SCALE TRIBAL UPRISING, HE COULD WELL BECOME THE "BONIE PRINCE CHARLIE" OF THE AFGHAN MOUNTAINS IN COMING YEARS. WE WOULD APPRECIATE WHATEVER INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS WHEREABOUTS AND ACTIVITIES ADDRESSEE POSTS CAN DISCREETLY OBTAIN.

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## Message Attributes

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